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DIRECTIVE OF THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF CHINA APPROVING THE GUIDING PRINCIPLES OF UNITED FRONT WORK IN THE YEARS 1956—1962

中共中央批准一九五六年到一九六二年
統一战線工作方針的指示
（英文）

GENERAL OFFICE OF THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE
OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF CHINA
中共中央办公厅印

DIRECTIVE OF THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF CHINA APPROVING THE GUIDING PRINCIPLES OF UNITED FRONT WORK IN THE YEARS 1956-1962

The Central Committee approves the Guiding Principles of United Front Work in the Years 1956-1962, put forward by the Fifth National Conference on United Front Work. We are sending you copies of this document. Party committees at all levels, and the leading Party members' groups concerned, should discuss it and organize its implementation.

Since the Central Committee issued its Directive on United Front Work dated January 17, 1955, all the Party committees at different levels have held discussions and made check-ups and the whole Party, to a certain extent, has overcome the "closed-door" tendency in dealing with democratic personalities and on the question of alliance with non-Party people. This is shown chiefly by the following facts: that the directive of the Central Committee has, by and large, been followed in making provision for democratic personalities; that progress has been made, generally speaking, in work related to the committees of the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference at different levels, and that relations between the Party and non-Party people in government departments have improved.

It should be pointed out, however, that the progress made along all these lines has been far from sufficient.

At present, in united front work, there is not only a "closed-door" tendency but also a rightist conservative tendency. These tendencies manifest themselves mainly through underestimation of the tremendous changes that have taken place in the various democratic parties and groups and among their members under the leadership of our Party in the last few years, and through inadequate appreciation of the positive role of the people's democratic united front in China's socialist transformation and socialist construction. Accordingly, the democratic parties, groups and personalities have not been accorded due political trust, and no adequate attention has been given to united front work.

Party committees at all levels should continue to make vigorous efforts to educate Party members as to the united front policy, to strengthen the guidance of united front work, and to correct the "leftist" or rightist tendencies in time. They should give regular guidance to the activities of departments charged with united front work and make periodic check-ups. They should help some local departments in charge of united front work to solve such questions as the insufficient provision of staff, the fewness or the poor quality of cadres, and, in particular, the shortage of leading and core personnel.

Copies of the "Report on the Fifth National Conference on United Front Work", made by the United Front Work Department of the Central Committee, are appended for your reference.

The Central Committee

March 31, 1956

GUIDING PRINCIPLES OF UNITED FRONT WORK IN THE YEARS 1956-1962

(Decision of the 5th National Conference on United Front Work, adopted on March 3, 1956)

I. During the past few years, socialist transformation in China has been speeded up, thanks to the correct leadership of the Party and the common efforts of the people of all nationalities, and thanks especially to the struggle against conservatism initiated by the Central Committee and the swift, vigorous development of the agricultural co-operative movement in the second half of 1955. Our country is now in the midst of a high tide of the great socialist revolution. The high tide of the three great socialist transformations[1], and the decisive victories scored by the working class in the struggle between the two roads — capitalism and socialism — have caused a fundamental change in the political situation in our country, so that "in about three more years, the socialist revolution will be completed in the main on a national scale."[2]

This fundamental change in the political situation is reflected in the internal relations of the people's democratic united front, its main expressions being the following:

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[1]*Translator's note*: By this is meant the socialist transformation of agriculture, of the handicrafts, and of capitalist industry and commerce.

[2]Speech by Chairman Mao Tse-tung at the Supreme State Conference on January 25, 1956.

1. The worker-peasant alliance is becoming more and more unbreakable as the basis of the people's democratic dictatorship, which has been shifted onto a new foundation, that of socialism.

2. The bourgeoisie, though not yet eliminated as a class, has yielded to the working class. Most capitalists and their agents have become working personnel in joint state-private enterprises; they can do no other than work with others along socialist lines, led directly by the government-share representatives in such enterprises, and under the direct supervision of the masses of the workers. Among the capitalists and their agents, the number of progressives who actively accept socialist transformation has been increasing with each passing day; they are tending to grow from a minority to a majority.

3. "A fundamental change has taken place among Chinese intellectuals during the past six years. A great majority of them have become working personnel in government institutions" and, judging by their political stand and social status, "have already become part of the working class."[1]

4. All the democratic parties and groups have, in the main, become political bodies serving the cause of socialism.

5. Most of China's national minorities have successively taken the road of transition to socialism and, in line with their different conditions, are marching forward along it.

The people's democratic united front in China has played its role in mobilizing and uniting the whole people in the fulfilment of the fundamental tasks of the state during the period of transition to socialism, and in

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[1]Comrade Chou En-lai's Report on the Question of Intellectuals delivered on January 14, 1956, at a meeting held under the auspices of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China to discuss this question.

the struggle against enemies at home and abroad. But the fundamental tasks of the transition period are still far from being completed. It will take about three more years to complete, in the main, our socialist revolution on a nation-wide scale; it will take several more three-year periods to achieve, in the main, the socialist industrialization of our country; and in the meantime we are not yet relieved at all of our struggle against enemies at home and abroad. We should give effect to Chairman Mao Tse-tung's directive: to keep consolidating and expanding the people's democratic united front, and to unite all the forces that can be united to strive towards our common goal.

II. As stated above, socialist transformation in our country is not yet completed, capitalist ownership is not yet completely changed, and the bourgeoisie, as a class, has still to be finally eliminated. Most intellectuals, including a part of the democratic personalities, still have bourgeois ideas which it will take long to get rid of, though their political stand and social status have been fundamentally changed. All this means that, within the people's democratic united front, there are still class contradiction and class struggle, which will continuously manifest themselves in political, economic, cultural, ideological and other aspects. This we must not overlook.

On the other hand, as most bourgeois people have become working personnel in joint state-private enterprises, and as the overwhelming majority of the democratic personalities and highly-qualified intellectuals have long since become government workers, the class contradiction within the united front will henceforth inevitably find more expression in practical work and academic research inside government organs, educational institutions and enterprises. It will take the form

of different stands, different viewpoints and methods in dealing with work and research questions, and different ways of thinking and styles of work.

This situation will be all the more favourable for the use of educational methods in class struggle (whether in politics, in work, or in ideology), and renders it all the more necessary that we regard education as a central task in united front work. Chairman Mao Tse-tung has said: "Conditions in China are such that it is not only possible, by using peaceful methods, methods of persuasion and education, to turn individual into socialist, collective ownership; but also to change capitalist into socialist ownership."[1]

What we call educational methods, as instructed by Chairman Mao Tse-tung, are methods of reasoning, emulation, criticism, self-criticism, and of encouragement and criticism combined. Criticism is the principal means of struggle. Except in dealing with counter-revolutionaries and other bad elements, it should generally be used. Our education is aimed not only at preparing the greatest majority of bourgeois people ideologically for the final and complete elimination of the capitalist system of ownership, but also at enabling them to become working people in the true sense of the term. It is also aimed at making most of the highly-qualified intellectuals and the democratic personalities develop the fullest activity in the struggle to build a socialist society, and getting them to accept, by the end of the Second Five-Year Plan, the basic viewpoints of Marxism-Leninism.

In short, it is necessary for us, by means of repeated education, to help others study politics and re-educate themselves ideologically, so that they can adapt themselves, step by step, to their already changed or chang-

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[1]Speech made at the Supreme State Conference on January 25, 1956.

ing political and social status. This is to be achieved mainly in two ways: on the one hand, we should help them to learn in their work, that is, in practice; on the other, we should help them in their political and theoretical studies. By co-ordinating and combining these two aspects of study, we can help them in their social observation and practice.

III. It is in actual work that we should unite, educate and remould the bourgeois people, the democratic personalities and the highly-qualified intellectuals. Present united front relations with bourgeois people, democratic personalities, and highly-qualified intellectuals are, more extensively than ever before, and even chiefly, taking the form of relations between Party and non-Party people in government organs, schools and enterprises. Consequently, the key to success in this work is that the Party organizations and personnel in such institutions should be able to take up a correct and active attitude in the matter.

Most of all, we should see that appropriate work is assigned to democratic personalities, highly-qualified intellectuals, and bourgeois people according to their different circumstances; and we should help them to make achievements in their work, study and make progress. In the joint state-private enterprises, we should guide the capitalists and their representatives to take an active part in production and management, assisting them in reforming their enterprises, in which they should be taught to "break down capitalism and set up socialism." We should teach them to learn from the masses of the workers. Those capitalists and their representatives who have exacerbated their relations with the workers in the enterprises should be assisted in making proper self-criticism in the presence of the workers. On the other hand the masses of the workers should be assisted in adopting a co-operative attitude towards the capital-

ists and their representatives, without blurring the ideological demarcation line between capitalist and worker.

We should adequately estimate the progress made during the past few years by various democratic personalities, highly-qualified intellectuals and bourgeois people, and give them the trust they deserve in their work. We should gradually build socialist relations of mutual assistance and co-operation with those whose social status and political stand have already been changed fundamentally.

IV. We should give systematic help to the bourgeois people, democratic personalities and a part of the highly-qualified intellectuals in conducting political and theoretical studies.

With regard to the bourgeois people, it is necessary that we strive to help them, within two years beginning in the next few months, to think their way through the key question — the law of historical development at the present stage — the transition from capitalism to socialism. This means helping them to achieve an initial, or wherever possible, a substantial, change in their ideology, "breaking down capitalism and setting up socialism." For this purpose, we should help them to study three courses:

1. The fundamentals of the laws of social development at the present stage (For the rank-and-file bourgeois people, it is planned to compile popular textbooks of political knowledge; as to the key elements who have a fairly high political and cultural level, it is advisable to help them to study political economy and elementary political theory, compiling or adopting appropriate textbooks for this purpose.);

2. The fundamentals of the reform of enterprises; and

3. Studies in important current events and policies. (These to be concentrated on several major subjects.)

In the effort to complete the work in two years, we should use the training class as the principal form. This will enable all those who can come together (possibly including some small proprietors and the wives of some capitalists and their representatives) to receive their training, by stages and in separate groups. (Such a measure will meet the need of doing the work on a large scale — quickly, effectively, and comparatively inexpensively.) At the same time, it will be supplemented by regular spare-time studies, and by methods of linking the study with reality, such as inspections and visits.

In the case of democratic personalities in all walks of life, and of a part of the highly-qualified intellectuals, we should not only help them to achieve the ideological change of "breaking down capitalism and setting up socialism," it is even more important to help them learn, step by step, to use the Marxist-Leninist approach and method to observe and handle affairs. Today, to study Marxist-Leninist theory has become a common desire among most of the people. We should be energetic in helping them to carry on studies on a voluntary basis while also taking appropriate measures to

1. Provide short-term courses for those granted leave from work for this purpose;

2. Set up short-term political schools;

3. Set up spare-time schools or evening universities; and

4. Organize forums on the subjects of study.

In addition, to meet the new demands, we should set up an Institute of Socialism on the model of the Higher Party School, and to enroll in it the high-ranking democratic personalities in all spheres of life (including a part of the representative bourgeois people and of the highly-qualified intellectuals).

The national and local committees of the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference should set up study committees and offices to guide and organize various kinds of education under the leadership of the Party.

V. We should make full use of the committees of the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference at different levels, the democratic parties and groups, the federations of industry and commerce and other organizations of the people, enabling them to play their role most fully. To encourage them to do so, we should give special attention to:

1. Carrying on the work of political consultation in a more planned way;

2. Rallying these bodies more systematically to join and help in the work of readjusting relations within the united front;

3. Organizing political and theoretical studies jointly with them; and

4. Through them, strengthening our ties with people of the remaining middle and upper strata who are found here and there in society and are still not few in number, uniting and educating all those who can be united and educated.

To enable these bodies to play the fullest possible positive role, it is essential to strengthen the leadership of the Party and make many improvements in practical work, chiefly including the following:

1. We should enable those democratic personalities who can take part in the regular work of the committees of the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference actually to have things to do and the wherewithal to do them, together with the assistance they require;

2. Our Party organizations at the basic level should adopt a positive attitude towards the basic organizations and members of the democratic parties and groups, uniting, educating and assisting them to become helpers

of the basic organizations of our Party (In all cases in which this has been done, notable results have been achieved.);

3. Support should be given to the democratic parties and groups in increasing their membership where this is possible. (Attention should be given to drawing in considerable numbers of middle-of-the-roaders and relatively backward people of the middle and upper strata.) At the same time, efforts should be made, in line with the provisions made by the Central Committee, to admit into the Communist Party those members of the democratic parties and groups and other democratic personalities who come up to the required standards, so as to effect, within the democratic parties and groups, closer relations between our Party and non-Party people;

4. A realistic stand should be taken towards achievements in the work of the democratic parties and groups and democratic personalities, which should be given publicity and reported in the press.

VI. With regard to united front work in the national minority regions the method of education is likewise the fundamental one, and educational work the central task. It is necessary, however, to make allowances not only for the characteristics of various nationalities and religions, but also for the different characteristics of each one separately. The methods used in educating and helping them with their studies should be very flexible, to be applied with great patience and in a great variety of ways. Participation must be on a voluntary basis.

At present, most of the national minorities are on the road of transition to socialism. In most such national minority regions, the socialist transformation will be completed, generally speaking, at the same time as in Han nationality areas. But with some of them, the

time taken will be comparatively longer. Furthermore, there are still national minority regions where democratic reforms have not been completed, or even not begun in some cases.

To carry out democratic reforms and socialist transformation among the national minorities, it is imperative in every case to persist in the policy of peaceful transformation laid down by the Central Committee of the Party, taking different steps in the light of the different circumstances of the nationalities. We must base ourselves on the principle of relying on the worker-peasant alliance as the basis and, taking into account the specific conditions of the different nationality regions, approach the toiling masses in every possible way so as to establish gradually a reliable foundation among them.

Towards the upper strata of the national minorities (including the upper strata of the exploiting elements of various types and the clergy), we should adopt the method of education, repeated persuasion and consultation, and in the democratic reforms and socialist transformation, we should see to it that their political status and living standards are not lowered (the latter to be maintained by the state after they give up exploitation). We should strive, as much as possible, to win them over so that they will accept and favour the democratic reforms and socialist transformation which are to be carried out by peaceful means.

It is necessary to rely on the state organs and the people at large, on work among the masses and our unity with the upper strata so that we can complete the democratic reforms and socialist transformation in the national minority regions gradually, but at a quicker pace, opening up broad prospects for socialist construction there.

VII. To carry through the policies described above, we suggest that Party committees at all levels continue

and intensify their efforts to carry on education within the Party on the policy of maintaining the united front and correct any "leftist" and rightist tendencies in time; and that all the departments concerned, and Party organizations in the state organs, schools, enterprises and people's organizations, further improve their united front work.

The tasks for the united front work departments of the Party are as follows:

1. They must grasp the Party policy for the united front and carry it out, under the leadership of the Central Committee and the Party committees at all levels. They must try to understand and check up on how this policy has been carried out in various spheres of activity. First and foremost, the united front work departments at all levels must thoroughly check up on the relations of such departments with the democratic parties and groups and democratic personalities, completing this work within a specific time;

2. They must co-operate with the propaganda departments of the Party committees in organizing and managing the political and theoretical studies of the bourgeois people, the democratic personalities and a part of the highly-qualified intellectuals; and

3. They must study and try to understand the democratic personalities and government functionaries allotted to the care of the united front work departments, provide them with suitable jobs and opportunities and train and promote them.

The united front work departments of Party committees at all levels should, in accordance with this policy, overcome conservatism and draw up working plans for all spheres of activity.

The personnel of such united front work departments should study hard, trying constantly to prepare themselves better ideologically, and to train themselves in a more strictly disciplined way.

REPORT ON THE FIFTH NATIONAL CONFERENCE ON UNITED FRONT WORK, SUBMITTED BY THE UNITED FRONT WORK DEPARTMENT OF THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF CHINA

To the Central Committee:

The Fifth National Conference on United Front Work was held between February 16 and March 3. It was attended by 57 directors or deputy directors of the united front work departments of the Party committees of provinces, municipalities and autonomous regions all over the country, and of all cities with a population of more than 500,000 under the provincial administrations.

The Conference placed emphasis on the discussion of the guiding principles of united front work for the years 1956-1962, and of the draft programme for work among the nationalities in the years 1956-1967. In addition it discussed the following documents:

1. Suggestions for helping the democratic parties;
2. The tentative programme for cadre administration in the united front work departments of the Central Committee and of Party committees at various levels;
3. The 1956-57 programme for cadre administration;
4. The draft directive drawn up for the Central Committee concerning the allocation of work and salaries to capitalists and their representatives in the movement for the joint state-private operation of enterprises;

5. Views on the struggle to weed out counter-revolutionaries waged among the cadres of the committees of the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference, the democratic parties and the federations of industry and commerce in various provinces, municipalities and autonomous regions;

6. Suggestions for further strengthening of the work of the local committees of the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference;

7. Measures to help democratic personalities and bourgeois people in their political and theoretical studies.

The above-mentioned documents, all of which have been repeatedly revised in the light of the opinions of the comrades present at the Conference, are dealt with separately as follows:

1. The guiding principles of united front work for the years 1956-1962, already examined and endorsed by the Central Committee, underwent certain revisions after discussion at the Conference, and a section on work among the nationalities was added. The Central Committee is requested to examine, endorse and issue the document.

2. The first draft of the programme for work among the nationalities in the years 1956-67, having been insufficiently considered beforehand, was first distributed, with the approval of Comrades Chou En-lai and Chen Yi, to the united front work departments of Party committees of the provinces and municipalities concerned and autonomous regions. The purpose was that they, together with the leading Party members' groups in the nationalities work departments, should submit suggestions for revisions and additions. At the same time the United Front Work Department of the Central Committee, and the leading Party members' group in the Nationalities Affairs Commission are studying the draft, and making revisions in the light of opinions from local quarters. Then this draft will be submitted to the Cen-

tral Committee for examination. We also suggest that it be submitted, as a first draft to the seventh plenary session of the Seventh Central Committee. Members of the provincial Party committees concerned, and members of the Party committees of the autonomous regions, are required to organize discussions on the draft when they return from the session, so that it may be further revised and become an official document.

3. The draft directive on the work and salaries to be accorded to capitalists and their representatives in the movement for the joint state-private operation of enterprises has been submitted for consideration to the ten-member group of the Central Committee taking charge of the socialist transformation of capitalist industry and commerce.

4. Views on the struggle to weed out counter-revolutionaries waged among the cadres of the committees of the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference, the democratic parties and groups and the federations of industry and commerce in various provinces, municipalities and autonomous regions have been submitted for consideration to the ten-member group of the Central Committee taking charge of the movement for eliminating counter-revolutionaries.

5. The suggestions for helping the democratic parties and the tentative programme for cadre administration in the united front work departments of the Central Committee and the Party committees at different levels, following revision, will be submitted to the Central Committee for examination and ratification. The suggestions for further strengthening the work of the local committees of the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference, because they are not yet mature, will not be submitted to the Central Committee for examination and ratification until further deliberation has taken place. For the present, the work

in various parts of the country may be carried on by consulting the draft discussed at the Conference.

6. The measures to help democratic personalities and bourgeois people in their political and theoretical studies have obtained the agreement of the Propaganda Department of the Central Committee. They will be submitted jointly by the Propaganda Department and the United Front Work Department to the Central Committee, for endorsement and issuance.

7. The 1956-57 programme for cadre administration has been issued by the United Front Work Department.

The Conference was, as a whole, successful. All the comrades who participated said they had become clearer as to principles guiding their work for some time to come, solved a number of specific problems, and gone a step further ideologically, thus strengthening their confidence in the success of their work.

The conservatism and "closed-door" tendency in the united front work departments are rather serious, as evidenced at the Conference. They manifest themselves chiefly in the following facts. The united front work departments have underestimated the marked progress made by the democratic parties, groups, and personalities in the past few years, with the result that the latter have not been given sufficient trust politically, nor a free hand in their work. The united front work departments have not done enough political and ideological work, while devoting much effort to the maintaining of organizational and business connections. Some united front work departments and some cadres have gone so far as to interfere with the internal affairs of the democratic parties and groups or even to practise organizational control over them. In style of work, some cadres are infected by conceit and complacency. They consider themselves leaders, and are not good at doing their work by consulting appropriately with people outside the Party, but confine their contact to a handful of

progressive people. In their work, they very seldom take counsel with responsible members of the democratic parties and groups, very seldom talk over matters with the various quarters concerned, including those of the left, middle-of-the-road and right, and very seldom engage in individual contacts with middle-of-the-roaders and rightists. This is a tremendous obstacle in the way of carrying the united front work forward.

Notwithstanding the fact that the Central Committee directive on united front work dated January 17, 1955, emphatically criticized the "closed-door" tendency, not much improvement has been made in this regard, because the united front work departments have not made any thorough examination of their own "closed-door" tendency. The United Front Work Department of the Central Committee should be held more responsible for this matter than others, because on the one hand it did not make enough effort to check up on the local united front work departments and urge them to do better; and on the other hand, it has the same fault itself.

These being the facts, criticism and self-criticism were made at the Conference particularly with regard to the conservatism and "closed-door" tendency in the united front work departments. It was arranged that, in the first half of this year, the united front work departments at all levels will make a thorough check-up of their relations with the democratic parties, groups and personalities. Only when the united front work departments themselves set an example for the establishment of correct relations with the democratic parties, groups and personalities can they, acting under the leadership of the Central Committee and local Party committees, move the Party organizations within the units concerned to improve their own relations with the democratic parties, groups and personalities, so that the latter may play their positive role to the full and be remoulded still better.

The chief defect of the Conference lay in the insufficient preparation made by the United Front Work Department and the consequent dragging out of the Conference for a comparatively long time. This ought to serve as a lesson.

Please give us directions.

The United Front Work Department

March 26, 1956

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